The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

The Democratic Car System

"Conductor, make that man move along!"

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Notes of the Week

Senator James Pairs with Senator Gallinger

IT seems almost as if the late Senator Ollie James has gone down to his grave still obestinately maintaining his pair against the suffrage amendment. Only two weeks after the death of Senator Gallinger, on the suffrage side, comes the death of Senator James on the opposed side. Suffragists will remember his persistent stand against them even when he was ill and refused to heed the request of the President not to pair against this measure.

One paper says of him that he "has been particularly known for his enthusiastic praises of every act of President Wilson, and equally violent abuse of any one who ventured to criticise the present Administration."

It is only natural that the *New York Times* would not remember that suffrage has the verbal support of the President and that on this point Senator James did not stand with him.

Lawyers Still Sleep

WOULD any great national association have the temerity at the present time to go on record as opposed to the suffrage amendment except that haven of reaction, the American Bar Association? At its annual meeting in Cleveland presided over by Elihu Root, late special representative to free Russia, its stand against progress, not even to mention democracy, was taken.

"The committee on jurisprudence and law reform presented a report and a resolution containing a memorial addressed to Congress supporting every grant of power desired by the President to help win the war. The committee, however, did not believe that changes in the national constitution are necessary at this time and urged Congress and the different state legislatures that the proposed suffrage and prohibition amendments are propositions of a kind which should not at any time be embodied in the national constitution."

A larger number of the representatives in the House and in the Senate are members of the legal profession than of any other. Those inside are standing with those on the outside to impede the progress of justice of which they are considered to be the chosen representatives.

Women to Control Daily

A DAILY paper in Atlantic City, New Jersey, *The City Union,* is to have a staff made up exclusively of women beginning with the issue of September the third. The paper, not a new one, has determined upon all women staff on account of the scarcity of men for such work.

Woman Suffrage in Hawaii

THE Democratic Party of the territory of Hawaii has just adopted a platform endorsing woman suffrage. The platform reads:

"The Democratic party of the territory of Hawaii through its duly accredited representatives in committee assembled, affirms its belief in and pledges its candidates in support of the following: . . . Woman suffrage by direct legislation."

American Women Forced to Register as Aliens

AFTER steadfastly refusing for four months to designate herself as an enemy alien, Mrs. Edith Stocker Georg, a prominent woman of Newburg, New York, and one of the most active members of the Red Cross of that city, was forced last week to register as an enemy alien. She was compelled to take this course in order to escape commitment to the Waverly Home for Women in New York City.

Mrs. Georg was born in the United States and is the descendant of several families prominent in Revolutionary days. Her husband is a German, living in this country but not an American citizen at the time the war broke out.

Since President Wilson's proclamation of last April calling upon women enemy aliens to register, Mrs. Georg has made many protests against being forced to declare herself an enemy of her country and has insisted that she be permitted to register as the wife of an enemy alien. Her protests were disregarded and she was finally informed by the local head of the Alien Enemy Bureau that she would have to register or go to the Waverly Home for the duration of the war. This is only one specific example of what is happening to many American women.

Miss Rankin to Run for Senate

ALTHOUGH Congressman Jeannette Rankin failed to secure the Republican nomination for the Senate from Montana, she has received the nomination of the new National Party —a party with a platform far more liberal than that of the Republican. Miss Rankin will continue her fight for election, but has not stated whether or not she will run for the National Party or as an independent. That the Republicans have not chosen Miss Rankin as their candidate is much more their loss than hers. Women in Montana, although greatly outnumbered by the men in that state, will undoubtedly support Miss Rankin in large numbers the feeling among women being that the next Congress will decide upon peace terms and that it is especially necessary that the best types of candidates be elected to determine what these terms will be.

Making the World Safe for Soldiers

SAYS a Porto Rico item in the *Christian Science Monitor:*

"Two hundred and fifty women are serving sentences of from six months to a year in the Arecho jail following convictions in connection with the campaign to make the island safe for soldiers. Several hundred more are serving sentences of a few days in municipal jails following like convictions in the police courts. This is the first result of united efforts of the civil and military authorities to clean up the island in acknowledgment of the obligation to protect the soldiers at Las Casas.

"All the women are being sent to Arecibo because that is the jail set aside for women prisoners and all the men who have been detained there have been or will be sent elsewhere. For the first time in its history the island will have a jail exclusively for women. There are women attendants and guards and when all of the plans are worked out there will not be a man on the place.

"Superintendent of Prisons Martin Ergui has been to Arecibo to make arrangements for supplies for the women for the next six months, at least. During their stay here they will be taught to sew and cook if proper instructors can be obtained, and they will also work in the garden that is attached to the jail and help provide their food.

"Already 1,000 yards of material has been sent to the jail for the women to make dresses for themselves and a sewing machine company has given the use of three machines for the women to sew on.

"Through Attorney-General Kern an appeal has been made to the Red Cross for instructors and women attendants. The Women Reserve Police Corps is already making some dresses to be sent to the women prisoners.

"If the quarters at the Arecibo jail prove inadequate, new wards in other jails will be fitted up for women only."

The above recital furnishes a case in point why thinking women demand a voice in man-made governments, unable to cope with the problems their own method of dealing with social problems has produced.

Strike Against Women Employees

TWENTY-FIVE hundred motormen and conductors employed on the street railways in Cleveland, Ohio, have declared for an immediate strike as a protest against the employment of women conductors. Women are acting in this capacity in nearly all the larger cities of the country at the present time. The strike in Cleveland, if it takes place, will contrast strangely with the recent one in London where the men employed on the trams struck in sympathy with the strike of the women employees for equal pay. That a fight like this can be made against powerless women entering a new industry, showing so clearly the prejudice against them, is an added proof of the necessity for suffrage without further delay.

Reading Between the Lines

By Ernestine Evans

THOUGHTFUL readers—if readers or anybody else have time for thought, now the most war-like of individual occupations—must have laughed last Thursday morning. I feel myself still smiling this Sunday afternoon in the steamy newspaper room of the New York Public Library as I look down at column six of page three of the *New York American* for the 22d of August.

At the top of the column the headline writer has clarioned that "Lloyd George Calls Women War Winners. Allies could not withstand the Foe's Attacks without their Aid, Writes British Premier. Their Splendid Fortitude, Courage and Self-Sacrifice Prove Fitness for Suffrage." I read on. The British Premier is laying it on thick in a letter addressed to the Inter-Allied Women's Congress.

If it were not for the item at the bottom of the page, whose less compelling headline reads, "Sex War Forecast in British Strike," I might be vain for women and my heart beat faster for the thrilling sincerity of a British Premier, saying:

"To them this war is a crusade for righteousness and gentleness, and they do not mean to make peace until the allies have made it impossible for another carnival of violence to befall mankind."

And yet the item just below reads: "A 'sex-war' is a possibility seen by some commentators on the strike of women transport-workers. The strikers demand the same pay received by men for equal work. It is pointed out that the ramifications of the strike may extend eventually to all war activities and to many other industries."

READ of women striking for a simple principle laid down by our own War Labor Board—equal pay for equal work.

"The bonuses given women in many munition plants are lower than those paid to men workers. It is reported the women are becoming dissatisfied over what they claim to be 'inequalities.' The principle affects the whole economic life of England, as at present women are doing all kinds of work."

Above Lloyd-George was writing: "If it had not been for the splendid manner in which the women came forward to work in the hospitals and munition factories, in administrative work of all kinds, and in war work behind the lines, often in daily danger of their lives, Great Britain and, I believe, all the Allies would have been unable to withstand the enemy attacks of the past few months. For this service to our common cause, humanity owes them unbounded gratitude."

The written gratitude of Lloyd-George and the fact of the British strike appear on a page whose headlines read: "Spain to Take German Ships." "Mob Anger in Japan Spreads." "Poles Strike Blow for Freedom." "German Front Shortened by Fifty Miles." "Essen Krupp Workers Threaten to Strike."

NOTHING that the world has ever seen compares with the simple gallantry, the open sincerity of feeling with which the millions of the youth of Europe have gone down into the valley of murder and destruction, sustained, not so much by the hate we bear at home as by a mystic hope of a better future.

Millions of women have been left behind, marshalling their forces in the development of the industrial system. If day after day, week after week, and year after year, they have lent their hands to the machines, surely they too had some dream of a better world. And being less chimerical than youth, they have asked for a feather of the bird of freedom that has winged its way singing over the blood-soaked mud of Flanders, and perched on the roofs of factories where women filled the shells, as careless of their sacrificed rights to motherhood as youth has been of the life another generation of women once passed to them.

"Equal pay for equal work." It is only a feather of that bird of freedom. But who shall say whether English women may not feel that the song of the British Premier is the song of the cuckoo, not the true Blue Bird's, after all. If he and his censors let two such contrary news items go sallying on one day's cables—either they are blind—or women.

ON another page of Thursday's paper my weary eye wanders to a Washington date line. Twenty-two women here at home, American women pursuing life, liberty and happiness, were hunger-striking in a District jail—they too had tried to put salt on the tail of the eagle that sings like a blue bird. At the very gates of the man who writes *about* freedom for women more touchingly than any man alive—they were thrust into the "black maria."

And my smile is wry. For, after all, it was only a single feather from that male bird of war flying afield now over foreign battle grounds, that they, like their English sisters, asked for!

To the United States Senators Opposed to Suffrage

By Elliot Gherard Colgan

When bleeding Justice called across the sea
For stalwart men to stem the tides of Huns,
When war-torn France and Belgium made their plea
We answered clear! The world now hears our guns!

When iron-fisted Thor his hammer swung,
We caught the sparks of thunder as they passed;
Into the maelstrom of the East we flung
Our valiant men to fight unto the last.

Three thousand miles across the sea we went
To fight for Justice, Liberty and Right,
Three thousand miles on Freedom's Continent
Injustice rules and keeps us from the light.

Who stepped into the breach grim War had made?
When Industry lay prone, who heard the cry?
When hurrying warriors left the plough and spade,
The women of the Nation made reply.

Where'er we go we see the ranks they fill,
And everywhere we see the work they've done!
They took their places on the farm and mill,
The weaker sex became the stronger one.

And yet in blind intolerance the State
Holds back the vote from all our women folk;
For Freedom's sake sends millions to their fate,
But right at home keeps millions under yoke!

Respond, O State! Make equal all thy brood!
Show Hun thy fairness and equality;
Destroy that yoke, so that in better mood
We all may strive for World Democracy.

Indiana Chautauqua Appeals to the President

OVER two thousand men and women met at the Chautauqua held last week in Richmond, Indiana, when Miss Doris Stevens, legislative chairman of the National Woman's Party told the history of the federal suffrage amendment, outlined the suffrage political situation as it stands today, and detailed the condition of the suffrage prisoners, at the moment still in prison. In describing the meeting the *Richmond Item* says:

"When a charming young woman in a pink dress and a big black hat with natural roses blooming on her cheeks and the sunshine glinting in her hair walks out on a platform and tells you she was arrested once in Washington for standing on the street and holding a banner asking Congress to give suffrage to women, you at once get the 'message.'

"The District of Columbia has made an idiot of itself before the world.

"Miss Stevens in referring to the struggles for recognition made by Susan B. Anthony and her workers, went over the history of those women who were nearing what they thought success when the Civil War broke out.

"'When they were about to win,' stated the speaker, 'they were asked to abandon their activities to assist the nation in its great struggle to perpetuate the union and they gladly gave up everything for this purpose.

"'But when the war was over, they were not given political freedom, although the poor black man whom they had worked to free, was given the franchise.'

"The women were ignored.

"Practically the same situation faces the women of the country today, stated Miss Stevens.

"The women are requisitioned to do war work of all sorts, to take the place of men in the professions and industries, to handle the reins of social and business life, to go into the field and the factories and the offices and the stores but they are denied the right of citizenship.

"To put it off on the plea, stated Miss Stevens, that it is not a vital thing and should be pushed to one side is an insult to the women citizenship of the United States which has so patriotically come to the aid of the government at this time and which has not only volunteered but has practically been commandered showing the value placed on their services and the necessity of the latter.

"The indifference of Senatorial leaderers to the request to have the federal suffrage amendment put through at this session and the recognition of the suffragists of the fact that if it is not put through at this session it will be again indefinitely delayed, caused them to call a public meeting in Lafayette Square in Washington to urge its passage by the Senate to which women from every part of the country went.

"And this is the meeting which was broken up by the police a short time since and 48 of the women dragged to jail on no charge.

"Miss Stevens with exquisite sarcasm commented on the outrage of this procedure stating that a "very nervous district attorney and a very unhappy judge," postponed the hearing in order to find some charge upon which the women might be indicted.

"'When women of 82 and 73 years are willing to go to jail for an ideal, the government must pay attention.'

"At the close of her address the following resolution was unanimously passed by the audience:

"'Resolved, that we call upon the President of the United States to use his great influence and power to secure the passage of the national suffrage amendment through the Senate.'"

Brilliant Meetings in Massachusetts

A SERIES of suffrage meetings were held almost daily on Cape Cod during the last month, organized by members of the Massachusetts branch of the National Woman's Party. Many notable speakers participated, including Mrs. Agnes H. Morey and Miss Katharine Morey, of Brookline; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Wilmington, Delaware; Mrs. Will Irwin, wife of the war correspondent, and Miss Vida Milholland, who sang her suffrage songs.

The meetings were arranged under the auspices of Mrs. John Couper Edwards, of Marion; and Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, of Mataposett, assisted by Miss Ruth Jarvis Small, of Newton Highlands, and Miss Rebecca Hourwich, of New York. Among the many out-of-town guests were Mrs. Jessie Cox Henderson, of Wayland, chairman of the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Party; Mrs. Robert Gorham Fuller, of Dover, and Miss Grace Henshaw, of Cambridge.

Mrs. Edwards, who made the meetings possible, is a member of the National Advisory Council. She divides her time equally between Woman's Party work and war relief. The fact that her two sons, Captain Allison Edwards and Lieutenant John Edwards, are with the expeditionary forces in France, has brought home to her the need of agitation for immediate action on suffrage.

Among the meetings held were a series at Marion, Mrs. Edwards' summer home, at New Bedford, Fairhaven and Nonquitt. Mrs. Hilles, chairman of the Delaware branch, who is working in a munition plant, was a speaker.

Minnesota Labor Demands Suffrage

THE Democrats of Minnesota are seriously concerned over the failure of the United States Senate to pass the suffrage amendment. Mrs. Bertha C. Moller, of Minneapolis, Secretary of the Minnesota Branch of the National Woman's Party, who is now in Washington to take part in the coming suffrage demonstration, has been making a tour over Minnesota arousing sentiment in favor of the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

Duluth citizens of all political beliefs this week declared themselves in favor of woman suffrage. Judges of the District Court, lawyers, physicians, men prominent in politics, such as the mayor and postmaster, and members of the party committees wired President Wilson, giving as their opinion that the sentiment in that section of the country, demanded the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment, and asking him to do all in his power for its immediate passage as a measure of justice to the women of the United States.

Among the leading men who telegraphed President Wilson are: Frank Crassweller, attorney and member of the school board; Fred Ryan, member Democratic Executive Committee of Duluth; W. B. Getchell, real estate man of West Duluth; Honorable Bert Fesler, Judge of the District Court; Fred Wheaton, candidate for governor; A. L. Sorter, of Minneapolis, member Democratic Executive Committee; Charles Andrist, former private secretary to Governor Hammond; and Dan Lawler, former mayor of St. Paul.

The Opposition to Borah

"SENATOR W. E. Borah," states the press of his own state, "will have opposition at the general election for the long term senatorship." Senator Borah will have the opposition of the National Woman's Party backed by women in every part of Idaho who are more and more strenuously objecting to having their demands repudiated by their representative in Washington.

All classes of women are doing their bit against Borah. Miss Hannah Ash, of Pocatello, a canteen worker, who has the long-distance record as a doughnut maker for the soldiers, has already appeared before ten lodges, securing protest resolutions from these aroused voters.

The following resolution was passed by the Minnesota Federation of Labor at their recent annual Convention at Virginia, Minnesota, following an appeal by Mrs. Moller:

Whereas, the women of the nation are being compelled by the exigencies of war to enter industry in increasingly large numbers to take the places of men who are called to the front, and, Whereas, we will have to depend upon the women to hold up our standards of labor and scale of wages which we have worked so hard to build up, which they will be unable to do unless they be given the power of the ballot, be it therefore

Resolved, that the Minnesota Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Virginia, Minnesota, July seventeen, nineteen hundred and eighteen, do hereby endorse the principal of equal suffrage and urge the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment as a war measure.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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The Invincible Women

PRESIDENT Wilson has just given to the world another of his splendid exhortations to the nation, specifically to the workers of the Nation, to stand single-handed behind the war.

This great partisan leader, who has become more than a national dictator, again defines the necessity which drove the nation to fight for democracy abroad.

"Germany was striking at what free men everywhere desire and must have—the right to determine their own fortunes, to insist upon justice, and to oblige Governments to act for them and not for the private and selfish interests of a governing class."

With his customary bland disregard of women and the part they are playing in the gigantic world struggle, the President seems quite unaware that in condemning Germany he is also condemning his own Administration. Women also are demanding "what free men desire and must have, the right to determine their own fortunes." They have peacefully waited for their right, they have politely pleaded for it, and finally have politically organized for it, and agitated for it and gone to prison for it.

The President perorates rhetorically: "They—our soldiers—are fighting for the ideals of their own land—great ideals, immortal ideals which shall light the way for all men to the places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits. That is the reason," declares the President, "why they fight with solemn joy and are invincible."

Women of this nation can hardly longer read these speeches of the President with admiration for their lofty diction. They have grown tired of sounding words. They have wearied of "notes." They demand action.

Under the very eyes of the President, and but a few weeks removed, women fighting for this same great ideal that has sent the men they loved overseas, met together to demand that the President make good his words. The fact that they were fighting for an immortal ideal lighted their way, not to places where justice is done and women as well as men live with lifted head and emancipated spirits, but to Administration Courts and Administration prisons at the hands of Administration Servants.

It may be unfair to take too literally the splendid phrases of the executive Nevertheless women finally again demand that these august phrases full of sound and splendor be translated into action. Let the President command these willful men in the Senate whom it is no secret to say he controls.

Until the President does so translate his beliefs into action, the agitation of women for their political liberty will go on, no matter at what expense of health, of strength, of life.

The thinking women of this nation are also fighting with solemn joy—and are invincible.

A Review of the Suffrage Situation

By a Member of the Lobby Committee

Afraid of Alice Paul

THINKING people all over the country have been wondering what President Wilson possibly could have meant when he recently referred to "the difficulties which will undoubtedly beset us" if the Senate does not at once pass the federal suffrage amendment. He could hardly thus publicly admit that the United States Government was afraid of Alice Paul and her followers; it seemed that there must be some reason for this statement of which the public was ignorant. . . . —*Margaret Robinson in New York Times, August 25, 1918.*

SUFFRAGISTS all over the country are watching and working on the Governors of New Hampshire and Kentucky to prevail upon them to select senators who will support the national suffrage amendment this session.

New Hampshire women are emphasizing the responsibility upon that state of having appointed to succeed the late Senator Gallinger a man who will vote for the measure. Senator Gallinger was a valiant fighter as well as a believer in the amendment. Suffragists cannot afford to lose the New Hampshire vote.

They are hoping to win a friend of the measure in the new Kentucky Senator. Senator James was an open opponent of the measure, and it is possible that he may be succeeded by a suffragist. This would be a definite gain in voting strength.

Suffragists are asking Republican friends of the measure in the Senate to urge the Republican Governor of New Hampshire to select a friend, while Democratic Senators are urging the Kentucky Governor to do the same.

It is indeed humiliating to spirited American women in the face of a demand for justice long overdue, to have to meticulously watch and work and wait while friends and opponents die and substitutes are appointed whose selection may prolong or diminish the wasteful struggle for democracy.

"The President could easily end the struggle by winning only two votes for the measure," a lobbyist ventured this week to a Democratic Senator.

"The President has tried all possible means," he answered. "If you can suggest anything else he might do, I would be glad to hear it."

"It is up to the President to choose his own tactics. We know he can do it. You will remember he has just very effectively prevented the election of certain senators and representatives who had not given complete support to his policies. Might he not do this to enemies of suffrage?"

"He might if he thought it was as important as other war legislation. As an intelligent woman you will readily see that aircraft production and the man-power bill are of greater importance to the President."

"I am sure they are," the suffragist replied.

"That is the tragedy of it. That is why women must stand by while air-craft scandals are probed; while criminal waste is shown to have perhaps cost the lives of their men folk; while boys of eighteen are drafted without the consent of mothers, to fight abroad for the democracy denied their mothers at home. Liberty for men is regarded as so precious that they must make the supreme sacrifice in its behalf. How does the President dare allow the United States Senate to continue its delay?"

"Very good!—but tell this to the recalcitrant Senators," replied the Senator smugly and unmoved.

"Women have no power. A disfranchised group cannot make unwilling Senators act. The only person who can command them to act is the President."

"You are an unreasonable young woman,"

"But Senator, I am perplexed. First you say the President cannot do any more. Then you justify him for having effectively retired representatives who did not follow his commands. I may be unreasonable, but I do not know which theory to believe. Which is he, powerless or powerful?"

The Senator was visibly agitated. The lobbyist was not quite sure—but she thought he lost his temper. Anyway his reasoning was not bullet-proof, and she suspected he knew it.

One becomes more convinced each day that the senators are not making it their first responsibility to pass the amendment. They are waiting for a higher command. It is still the task of women to insist that the President take the necessary steps to put it through. They have looked with envy and some sorrow at the speed with which the wire control bill was pressed to an immediate successful vote, and now the man-power bill successfully achieved, while their own measure has been neglected and ignored.

Bossing the Boss

WHATEVER one may think of the methods pursued by the militant suffragettes who have been trying to force the President to exert himself more vigorously in behalf of the equal suffrage amendment, it is evident that the women have outplayed the President in the game of politics. Last fall, when many of them were arrested and sent to the workhouse for carrying banners in front of the White House bearing quotations from the President's speeches, the Administration was compelled to release them from jail and after appeal to higher courts they won their cases. Following complaints made by the women the superintendent of the workhouse was dismissed.

For many months the District of Columbia authorities, appointed by the President and presumably consulting his wishes in their dealings with the suffragettes, refused to grant permits for the women to hold meetings in Lafayette Square, across the street from the White House. They proceeded to hold their meetings just the same, were arrested, sentenced to jail for terms of ten to fifteen days, and went on a hunger strike. After six days' imprisonment they were discharged unqualifiedly, and permits were issued for them to hold their meetings, without any further request having been made by them.

The women have won everything they asked except an effective effort on the part of the President to line up the members of his party in the Senate for the equal suffrage amendment. The necessary proportion of Republicans is ready to support the amendment. The Democrats have delayed and filibustered, with the result that defeat apparently awaits the amendment for lack of action.

Many persons take the view that it is not the province of the President to control or influence the action of members of Congress, and in this they are right. But the members of the National Women's Party, who are pushing the equal suffrage amendment so vigorously, take the position that since the President has interferred in so many other instances and has demonstrated his ability to make members of his party change their attitude when he changes his he can reasonably be expected to deliver a sufficient number of votes now to put the amendment over.

The equal suffragists say they need only two more votes in the Senate, and, since the Democrats have a considerable majority, and the Republicans have already tended their due proportion, the Democrats should produce the necessary additional votes or abandon their pretended advocacy of equal suffrage. They insist that if the President would put forth as much effort for the equal suffrage amendment as he has for a number of other measures on which he changed his mind, he could swing the necessary number of Democratic Senators, as he has done in the past.

That the women do not intend to give up in their efforts is evident from their willingness to go to jail, and to be incarcerated in the workhouse along with all sorts of people with whose kind they have not been accustomed to associate. This demonstration of their determination has apparently led the President to believe that resistance on his part is futile and he will endeavor to grant as many of their demands as he can—but whether this will include delivery of votes to put the amendment over, remains to be seen.—*Wilmington (Del.) Evening Journal, August 28, 1918.*

A Page of Administration History

By Kate C. Heffelfinger

THERE is that in the arrest, and final release and vindication of American women in the past two weeks that again emphasises a tremendous injustice unrectified, and the power which is great enough to rectify it used, instead, to further oppress.

Women came to Washington from many states on August sixth, out of the normal routine of their useful lives, to unite their demand for action by the Senate on the Susan B. Anthony amendment. They were not on a holiday—they were not forgetting but remembering all that hampered their usual work. When they demonstrated their unanimity of purpose by marching together, they did no new thing.

They left their headquarters headed by the flag of the United States and carrying in the line the tricolor symbol of freedom for women. The long, silent line marched to the statue set up in memory of Lafayette, who left his homeland to champion democracy. It was fitting that women seeking freedom should do this, who are themselves the mothers, the sisters and wives of soldiers who have left their homeland to champion democracy.

Women—women—women came; a streaming line of color in the clean, hot light! They drew close together there facing the White House, remembering the Frenchman, who called himself "no foreigner" who once offered his life for American freedom.

Then one of them with a son in France began to speak: "My friends," she said, "we have come to urge that democracy——" Four policemen with clubs at their belts closed around her. "You are under arrest," said one, and pushed her from where she stood.

Another speaker, cheered by the people, began, and was arrested. A woman past sixty, a nurse and the comrade of Sarah Barton, began, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liber——" and was arrested. Another, and another and another tried to speak.

FORTY-eight orderly women were jammed into patrols and taken to the police headquarters. But what did it mean? To any thinking creature looking on it was an ugly spectacle. It is always ugly to see a sane and temperate expression jibed and torn at. It is like seeing an idler whipping beautiful growing things to pieces for no purpose. But the flowering of the desire for freedom bears winged seeds and to flail these is to sow them.

High desire! a crowd, the chatter and clang of patrol bells, the smell of sweat and dirty linen, the pinioned arms, the pushing—these things do not frighten solemn eyed women, who have to fear death, and worse, to those they love. And so to be a woman maulled by a "fat cop" because one happened to repeat something from the constitution of the United States does not divert one's mind. Still, considering these humiliations as a symptom of a national disorder, it makes one reflect.

These forty-eight women were told to appear in the federal court to hear under what charge they were held. When they did appear, they were told they must wait a week for a charge to be determined on! Meanwhile they made repeated attempts to hold their meeting of protest. On August 12, thirty-five were arrested as on the first day, and, upon refusing to deposit collateral, were released, still uninformed as to the charge against them. Twice that day they were hurled to police headquarters through the vistas, green and white, of the broad avenues dotted with statues of heroes, and put in a room and told to wait.

THE ribbon sashes worn by each of them was demanded as "evidence." This demand came from the deep chest of a short piratical person. The women stood quietly, their hands on the ribbons. Then the thirty-five police officers moved. They clawed and clutched and set their teeth and did team work and acted, indeed, entirely like policemen doing a job. Incidentally the suffragists were scratched about the hands and bruised about the arms. But the strength of Washington policemen should not be used to keep American women from indicating in an orderly way that they desire the vote.

These scenes in Washington give one the light, faint feeling, not of defeat, but of loss. There is a waste, a bleeding of strong usefulness at times like these.

Then there was the "trial." An expression toward the realization of that for which the world is breaking its heart was called an "offence to a monument" by a judge in a Federal Court! A clerk was summoned bearing in his hands maps of Washington indicating "a statue in a certain square known as and called Lafayette Square," and the trial droned on. It lasted from 9:30 in the morning to late in the evening. Clerks luxurated in tilted chairs under electric fans, and people in the court room sweltered. One by one eighteen suffragists were summoned, heard of the "certain square," were asked if they didn't want to see the map, if they didn't want to ask questions, and were told that they had "climbed on a statue." Each one told where she had come from and that she had come to the National Capitol to protest against the delay of the United States Senate in taking action on the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The judge merely said that the reason for holding a meeting had no bearing on the case; that the whole point was that women had stepped upon a statue and had not injured it.

ON August 14 forty women repeated their attempt to hold a meeting at "a statue known as Lafayette statue situated in a square known as and called Lafayette square." Again the women marched. The woman with most of her life in the past, the woman with most of her life to come, government clerks, munition workers, housekeepers, dreamers, business women, doctors, teachers, women who refused to pause till they have made their country fit for lovers of democracy to live in and to come back to, marched together. Again interrupted, arrested, released, unidentified to appear in court! The long line left headquarters in the hush of the moonlit dusk. There were wood-scents in the square, the trees dripped rain. The open door of the White House framed a group of people. Down the avenue along the square with the flag at their head moved the line of women and came together as before. Many of them spoke. They spoke temperately, selflessly.

"There will be a generation, not far distant," said one, "who will marvel to hear that we suffered the long delay in freedom for women." Time after time the policemen arrested the speakers: time after time they sprang to their places. American soldiers helped arrest the suffragists.

The next morning there was another trial. The suffragists were summoned and they went forward. They said that day that they refused to participate in the trial. The judge said they should stand while the accusation was read. No one moved. The judge expressed a feeling of deep respect for all present and trusted that they felt the same for the Court. No one spoke. The judge called a recess of fifteen minutes in which he hoped something to the effect that the suffragists would decided to rise when summoned. The judge withdrew; the clerk and the assistant district attorney withdrew. Heat lay like a blanket over the place. So did silence. Suffragists drowsed, sewed, read.

THE judge, the clerk, the attorney returned. Names were read to which no one answered.

Fat and troubled police officers leaned far over the witness box, each one trying to indicate that a name he knew belonged to some woman he didn't know, or that a woman he didn't know had any one of the thirty odd names. When the cataloguing of certain twenty-three women with uncertain names was accomplished the judge decided that they had stood on the base of a statue, it mattered not why, and that some of them should be imprisoned ten days for it and some fifteen. Twenty-three women were trundled away from the sunset to an abandoned jail.

THE jail is tall and narrow. Though an acre of flat land lies around it stands huddled and disused, and for years disused. It is not known why twenty-three women were stabled there. The windows of the place are of ground glass, narrow and so diabolically arranged as to

open on the slant shutting off any least sight of sky. These windows begin twenty feet from the floor, which is of stone. The cells therefore face a kind of long damp cellar. It was in this cellar that the suffragists were kept.

Each cell is six by eight feet with a seven foot ceiling. It is a solid steel enclosure except for the three foot barred door. Each cell is supplied with a sewer, reeking with sewer-gas, a hydrant from which to draw foul-tasting, foul-smelling water out of old pipes. Two suffragists on entering the jail began opening windows, all of which were, of course, closed. The Warden informed them they would be locked in their cells if they persisted. After the windows were open (they open half way by a system of levers) the straw mats were brought out of the cells and laid in a row on the cement floor. The women were without blankets and lay for the night exhausted and chilled. They were told blankets could not be had until the next night. Meanwhile chills began. And so the discipline of the body was enforced.

The women were allowed blankets short of enough, were refused visitors, seeing counsel, seeing their own physicians. They could see jail doctors in plenty, who were told of their need for blankets and hot water bottles and refused further attention "unless you eat." "If you eat," said the doctor, "I'll give you what care you need. I'll bet it's cold here, and I'll bet your backs ache from those hard beds. I'll *bet* they ache!"

"If you don't want to do without blankets pay your fine—that's the way to get blankets," said the warden.

The hunger strike began on entering prison. Twenty-three women do not hungerstrike for six days, under oppression in prison for an adventure or a "fad." Aching bones and violent nausea, with increasing weakness creeping on in the long sleepless nights, did not make them forget that disregard of the freedom of a nation's women had put them there. Neither did they forget each other.

Senators came and "investigated" and asked why the women were there. One left, murmuring, "What did those women do, after all!"

After six nights and days, too weak to walk, the women were released. "A shortened sentence," the warden said.

The women are ill. But here's a strange thing! The leader of the women received the day following the release a permit to hold a meeting "at the statue known as Lafayette statue in the square known as and called Lafayette Square!"

The world is coming to know that to call orderly a government that is not just is farcical, farcical but not humorous—dangerous.

The Right to Protest

SINCE there was no vote, and probably will be none until the President, with the people back of him, demands what he has recommended, it will be well to examine into the immediate situation with a view to getting some popular education out of it. That is all the Senate has done, or seems likely to do, on the question—afford the public an excellent opportunity to study the Senate. In the end woman suffrage is sure to come, unless the Prussian idea of autocracy dominates the world; and the long delay in its coming may be compensated by forward changes in the personnel and processes of the Senate—changes which might not otherwise seem so essential to public welfare.—*Lynn Haines in the Searchlight on Congress.*

SUFFRAGISTS from all parts of the country, having no assurance that the Senate would act on the suffrage amendment if the women of the country did not make their demand insistent, recently attempted to hold street meetings in Washington. For the first time in history, suffrage meetings were interfered with by the police; men drafted to fight for democracy abroad were called out to assist the police in arresting women struggling in a peaceful and constitutional fashion for democracy at home; and the women were arrested—though it took the judge a week to find charges upon which they could be tried.

Hunger striking for their right to be treated as political prisoners, they were released after five days. And the day following their release, the Army Engineers Office sent the National Woman's Party a permit to speak at Lafayette Square, opposite the White House. Evidently, someone in Washington has decided to display a little common sense, as well as justice, in dealing with members of the party in their desire to further the interests of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

This permit comes as tardy recognition of the fact that the women have been denied rights which are clearly theirs by the Constitution of the United States. What was the sum and substance of their "offending?" Did they attack the government? Not at all. Did they assail the war or attempt to put a straw in the way of its successful prosecution? Not in the least. They have simply exercised their rights as Americans to state in plain, simple and straightforward language that they are determined to work for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment with every means in their power. Since the Senate is inexcusably dilly-dallying with the measure, the women are attempting to arouse public opinion and thereby arouse the Senate to the necessity of ending this long fight by the passage of the bill.

How long since has it become a crime, punishable by a fine or jail sentence, to address the President or Congress upon a matter of pending legislation? Why have not these women the right to try, by public speech and any other lawful means, to secure the passage of a law which is to them of great and vital importance? Have they any less right, or is their conduct any more lawless than that of the paid lobbyist who haunts the Nation's Capitol seeking favors for his own pocketbook?

Regardless of whether we believe in suffrage or not, or of whether we believe that the National Woman's Party might carry on their campaign in another way, the undeniable fact remains that they are entirely within their legal and constitutional rights in attempting to promote the passage of the Anthony amendment. They may annoy Congress, irritate the "anti's," or disturb the slumbers of the Washington police—but that is beside the question. The Constitution of the United States specifically provides that "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech . . . or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Women believe they have a right to vote; many states of the Union have recognized this right; the women desire that this right shall be extended throughout the United States—and the Constitution permits them to ask and to demand by every legitimate means in their power that this right be given them, without being thrown into jail or battered at the end of a policeman's club.

The one outstanding fact in the situation we believe to be this: American women desire enfranchisement. They desire it with the same fervor that is making men die for self-government abroad. How can we, in good conscience, deny them the right "peaceably to assemble" in the interests of enfranchisement when we are sending our millions of men overseas to spill their blood for the liberation of mankind and to bring about a reign of justice for the people of the earth? The American women have every right to expect the United States Senate to pass the suffrage bill at this session, waiting now only for the passage of the new draft bill.—*Colorado Springs Gazette, August 24, 1918.*

A Suppressed Record

IT was made very apparent by the arrests of the suffrage speakers in Washington Tuesday that the Administration does not care to have the suffrage record of the Democratic Party told publicly across the country before the approaching election. It is to be hoped that this evident desire for less publicity will cause the Senate to take immediate action, upon reconvening, to pass the amendment which provides for the enfranchisement of half the American people.—*Colorado Springs Gazette, August 12, 1918.*

"Standing By the Constitution"

ONE and all, the antis in the Senate give their love of the constitution as a reason for opposing the Anthony amendment.

The one issue before the Senate, of course, is whether or not the various states shall be permitted to exercise their constitutional privilege to change the constitution as three-fourths of them may decide. A senator who really believes the states have a right to amend the constitution will vote for the Anthony amendment whether he believes in woman suffrage or not. The "fathers" provided the machinery and process for such amendment; it is the reaction "sons" who happen to be in the Senate today who stand between the states and their right to vote on the amendment.—*New York Call, July 1, 1918.*

Filibustering Against Democracy

THE reactionaries die hard. These blockaders of progression stand up in the Senate Chamber and, by their attitude, say, "What? put women on a political equality with us? Over our swollen tongues first!" And so, by virtue of that senatorial courtesy cited by Reed, they proceed to talk against time, while the war to establish a purer democracy continues with unabated fury across seas. Apparently, these exponents of the dark ages are willing to establish the principles of democracy anywhere but in the United States. —*Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal, June 28, 1918.*

Unkind to the President

TWENTY-SIX suffragists have been put in jail at Washington because they assembled in front of the White House in an orderly demonstration on behalf of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. In our judgment, the demonstration was an egregious tactical blunder; moreover, in view of President Wilson's strong letter urging the Senate to favorable action, it seems as unkind as it was uncalled for. We cannot, therefore, sympathize with the suffragists in any loss of public favor that their action may cause them to sustain. Nevertheless, we cannot for a moment admit any justification for such an egregious violation of their constitutional rights. The right of peacable assembly belongs to them by the fundamental law of the land, irrespective of any question of tact or formal propriety. They have the right of petition for the redress of grievances, whether the grievances be real or imaginary. That these women should have been seized and herded into jail either upon some technical fiction or upon the mere right of might is a lawless use of the police power of a great civilization.—*The Nation, August 24, 1918.*

Women Have Earned the Right to Vote

THE eminent statesmen who make laws have given one-half of America citizenship: Without women this war could not be won.

Women are doing to-day not only women's work, but men's work. They are doing it well.

Every woman you see running an elevator, or taking tickets, or selling groceries, or driving a business automobile, has released a man to go to war.

And there are millions you do not see, who are quietly doing their share toward the great job the country has undertaken and doing it efficiently.

To argue that these women are not entitled to a voice in the affairs of the nation they are thus helping to save is sheer foolishness.

The war has swept all the ground from beneath the feet of the anti-suffragists.

It has been proven that women can not only do the light work that has been performed by men, but the heavy work as well.

And no one doubts that the services of women at the front as nurses and workers in the Red Cross and the Salvation Army are just as heroic and just as devoted as that of their brothers who fight in the trenches.

Congress has been in the past a slow moving body. But in the last year it has moved fast enough.

It has enacted all necessary war measures without hitch or hesitation.

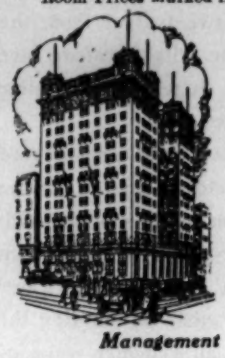
It has supported the President in his efforts to put the country swiftly on a war basis. Its old-time conservatism has gone.

Congress can—if it will—quickly give to women the right that has been denied them for many years.

If for no other reason suffrage should be conferred on women as a war measure.

And it will be a very unwise Congress which refuses to pass the suffrage amendment.—*Atlanta Georgian, reprinted in the Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, July 22, 1918.*

Room Prices Marked in Plain Figures in the Room



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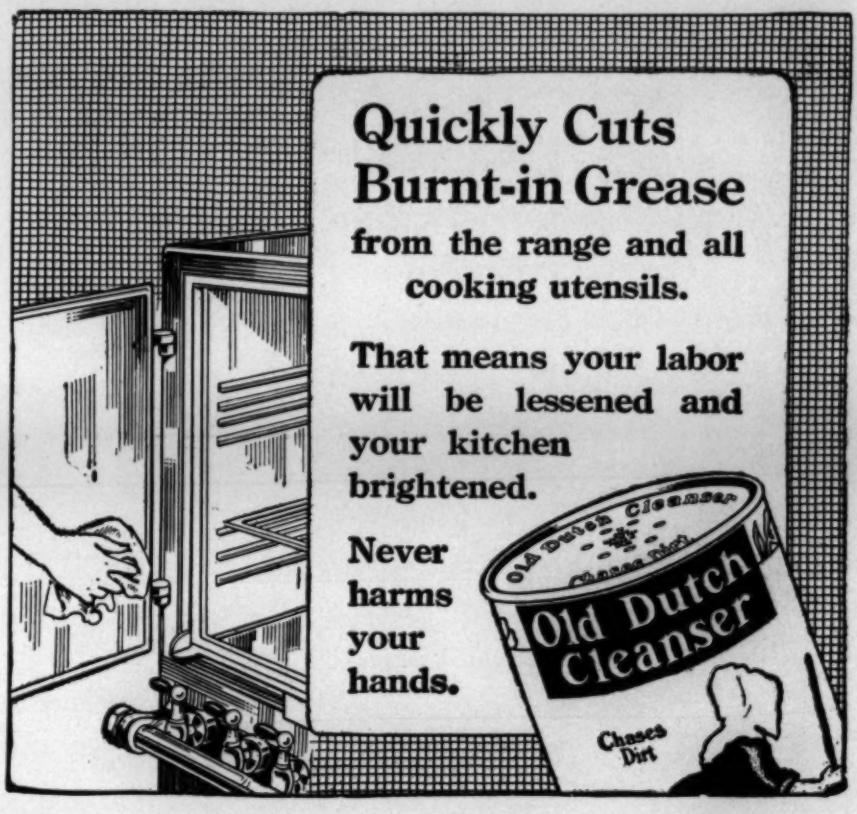
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